
Among Tare and Luffing with the Sonoran Fishermen

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Abstract: Studies on the fishing lexicon in Mexico are non-existent. There are only some works done in very delimited areas with a fishing tradition that have served as input to develop this research. For that reason I have undertaken this task of compiling those terms that were used and are still used by fishermen in the Mexican state of Sonora. This article describes the lexical particularities of the marine speeches of the state of Sonora collected in situ by applying a questionnaire of more than 380 questions to 22 fishermen from 11 populations located in just over 950 kilometers of the 1207 coastline with that the entity has. Of the various names given in this specialized language, only a portion of the ten centers of interest into which the questionnaire was divided is presented, together with the rigorous considerations that have arisen in light of the lexical variation offered by some voices. The analysis of the collected terms shows vernacular lexical plots and also the influence of English and French, as well as the formation of metaphors, voices of Amerindian origin, a rare phonetic phenomenon and new terms by composition and derivation. Finally, a table is added in which various Sonoran terms are compared with others collected in other latitude.

Keywords: Sonora, Fishing, Lexicon, Guineada, Sea

1. Studies on the Fishing Lexicon

In Mexico there is no material that accounts for the lexicon used by fishermen. There are, however, important works such as the one carried out in 1968 by Luis Fernando Lara in Veracruz¹, others that, without having an eminently linguistic character, have been published by the Center for Research and Higher Studies in Social Anthropology (CIESAS) and that cover almost the entire territory Mexican, and two volumes in English and Spanish released by the Ministry of Fisheries in 1990), but it lacks the theoretical and methodological elements to be considered an authoritative linguistic source, since its purposes are not properly dialectological, although they are commendable. The extensive study offered by the Linguistic Atlas of Mexico only includes 12 questions (729-740) -in their lexical part- that are related, in some way, to the seafaring speech: new moon, moon halo, twinkling, starlight, drizzle, shower, lightning, lightning, clearing, fog, gale, swirling air; and still others - in the sections devoted to phonetics: port, ship; and

grammar: mar- whose objective is not precisely to obtain some local or regional denomination of the concept. In other words, the speech of the seafarers in Mexico has received little attention from linguists and philologists, and it is found lurking in a vast linguistic sea in which I have sailed to make this short contribution known.

This has not happened in other places such as Spain, Colombia, and Puerto Rico, where studies on seafaring speech have received the required attention from researchers and the necessary financial support from scientific institutions. These works have served me as a direct reference to document and explain the use of marine voices, their provenance and, sometimes, their etymology.

2. Objectives and Method of Work

During several stays between 2010 and 2015, I had the opportunity to visit a large part of the Sonoran coast (in Mexico) in order to apply a survey that collected the vocabulary that fishermen use in their daily activities when they remain on board their pangas in the company of their hammocks and other gear. In the compilation of the linguistic materials I used the method known as words and things that

¹ *Studies on the speech of Tlacotalpan*, Veracruz, thesis, Mexico, Universidad Iberoamericana, 1968.

starts from the idea of the migration from one language to another, or from one dialect to another, of the words and the things they name, in such a way that the social group or people who receive them enriches both their language and their material culture. Thus, through the invoice of the indirect question, I obtained a list of forms that exceeds 800 denominations that have allowed me to get closer to the customs and peculiarities of the social group that Sonoran fishermen form. On the other hand, without being the main objective –as this is totally descriptive- to determine the etymology of each one of the voices used –be they indigenous or not- in the fishing activity, its knowledge can be useful to trace the origin or the origin of the objects they designate and, consequently, the influences of some cultures and peoples on others. So, with the use of the “words and things” method, I managed to obtain useful linguistic and ethnographic data to better understand the ideology of seafarers, at the same time that the analysis of the lexical elements collected allowed me to delve into this small Part of the Mexican Spanish that is Sonoran. (INSERT figure 1).



Figure 1. Investigated localities.

3. Questionnaire

In the elaboration of the questionnaire that I applied, I resorted to works that have been done both in Spain and in America on seafaring speech. I structured my guide of questions with questions that I extracted from two books: Granada Marine Terminology and Granada Marine Lexicon, both by Antonio Martínez, who in turn based his questionnaires on the Linguistic and Ethnographic Atlas of

Andalusia by Manuel Alvar with the collaboration of A. Llorente and G. Salvador, in the Lexicon of the Peninsular Mariners [1] of the same Alvar. In addition to the above, I completed the list of questions by consulting the study carried out in the 1970s by Luis Flórez and José Montes in Colombia, and the aforementioned work by Lara. All of this constituted the questionnaire structured by more than 380 questions.

The coherence of this guide to questions is based on the fact that it is structured in several semantic fields that allow the gathering of words and similar phenomena in terms of their meaning, in an orderly and systematic way. I don't think this is the time to discuss the usefulness of questionnaires in dialect research; I think that the subject has already been discussed enough and it seems to me that it has become clear that the data obtained with a questionnaire are always richer than those documented casually –at least to obtain the terms of a specialized language, as in this case-, since in the spontaneity of speech, much information is lost if the survey is not carried out with this technique. The questionnaire guide brings unity to the conversation. Moreover, the veracity and accuracy of the linguistic data that are intended to be obtained is more easily achieved with a questionnaire, since the informant already knows what is intended of him from the first moment. Thus, with the excuse of any question about the fishing activity, I would approach the fishermen and start a conversation, always looking for the ideal informant - a native man of the town, fisherman, with little school education - who could guarantee truthfulness in the answers to my questions. Once located, I explained to him what my objective was, where I came from, and I proposed to start the survey by committing myself to financially compensate his time. On other occasions, I had to request a permit from the indigenous Seri governors of Punta Chueca and El Desemboque de los Seris to carry out my work. Fortunately, they never objected to his doing it.

During the application of the questionnaire, I resorted to the use of photocopied sheets and materials –especially when inquiring about certain elements that are not easily visible in all boats, such as the anchor parts, types of sail, parts of the boats, parts of the redes- and to the indirect question in order not to suggest any answer. For this same reason, I tried to conform to the characteristics of the interviewees' speech; Thus, if he obtained a swell, the questions related to it: ‘undulation of the sea’, he asked them using the form said by the fisherman: what is the state of the sea called when it has many swells? I think that by eliminating linguistic differences, the informant becomes aware that his answers are useful and this makes the survey follow its natural course. In the same way, I tried to ask the questions in a clear and simple way, avoiding abstract terms, cultisms and technicalities that could lead me down a wrong path. The questionnaire includes a series of initial questions whose objective is to establish contact between the researcher and the informant so that the latter can overcome the natural fear that any interrogation usually produces, and can adapt to the survey technique. The other part covers the ten semantic fields in which it is divided:

the sea, meteorology, the stars, geomorphology, navigation and maneuvers, trees and sails, rigging, types of boat and shipbuilding, fishing and the arts - with hook, network, with traps- and finally trade. Of all of them, I now present only a brief sample of documented voices.

4. The Informants

As I already pointed out, talking in the group of fishermen I identified the informant who was going to serve me in my work. I was fortunate to find people with little school education -the general average of studies was 4 years-, men from the sea and natives of Sonora -only three of them did not meet this requirement², but on average they had 27 years of residing in the place.

The life of Sonoran fishermen has changed a lot in recent years; now nylon gear is used and boats are powered by powerful outboard motors. However, the elderly informant could not be absent, who not without nostalgia for the youth that had already gone, assured that he had once sailed in sailboats, that there was no radar and that the fiberglass had not yet appeared. In this sense, I think that being able to compare the lexicon of two generations (a younger one -which I will call A- and another older -B- 45 years old) can provide necessary data on the influence of social changes on the language of these communities of speaks, understood these as any human group that is characterized by regular and frequent interaction, through a shared system of linguistic signs, and is distinguished from other similar groups by significant differences in the use of language [27].

The average age of the informants turned out to be 48 years, which indicates that they are men with extensive experience in matters of the sea since many were born and have grown up in front of it; They are people who, moreover, have traveled very little - some have gone to work in certain fishing camps on the Sonoran coast itself for short periods of time - and retain the linguistic habits of their locality. The answers.

When the number of documented forms has suggested it, I present the informants from the youngest (A) to the oldest (B), and when there was another answer given occasionally by a third fisherman, I enter the preceding one by a C. If any informant provided more than one answer to the same question, I indicate the order in which they were given. If the answer was a sentence, I write it down in quotation marks. With (g) I indicate that the denomination is for general use and I write down the sites -more than 6- in which it was collected (Puerto Peñasco, Guaymas, Yavaros, etc.); If the answer has been scarce - obtained in less than 6 places - I make the clarification in the body of the text, as well as when the denomination has been collected in a single place or when I have not documented any answer.

In exposing the documented voices, I use conventional spelling so that the reader can perceive the phonetics of the words as clearly as possible. Thus, when I refer to the

particular pronunciation of ch in Sonora, I refer to its quality of friction -similar to the sh sound in English- by writing a fricative ch and not with the sign of the International Phonetic Alphabet. In the same way, I indicate with a smaller s and with an h the sporadic semi-aspiration or aspiration of s that I was able to register in some places along the coast. Vowel, consonant and hiatus swaps, occasional weaknesses and phoneme losses are clearly indicated with the letters that correspond to the sounds -in the case of swaps and hiatuses-, and with smaller spellings or with the absence of them in the two other phonetic phenomena.

I make references to works and authors as brief as possible, since the complete files can be found in the bibliography. At the end of the presentation of the results, I present the observations that I made about them - new names by metaphors, linguistic loans, dislocation of meaning, etc.

5. Fisherman's Lexicon

5.1. The Sea

5.1.1. Surge

The undulation of the sea produced by the wind was called tidal wave by 17 fishermen from 10 places; this makes this the general rule. It is joined by a wave with a little less vitality but always usual since it was provided as a first response in Puerto Peñasco, Desemboque de los Seris, Bahía Kino and Guaymas. The other forms of waves and breezes I could collect in Bahía Kino and Puerto Libertad respectively. These swells can be fast 'bravas', silly 'slow', choppy, high, small or deep, also called swelling in Guaymas. The situation with tidal waves in front of the wave is similar to that which occurs on the Atlantic coast of Colombia, where the mareta denomination has almost totally displaced the wave [20], a form also worn in Andalusia until 25 years ago since the [2] (map 990) recorded it in 65% of the coastal towns studied, but today it seems to be in the process of expansion thanks to the news media on the weather [19]. On the Sonoran coast, it will be necessary to wait some time to know if this situation remains or changes in the linguistic habits of the fishermen.

5.1.2. Phosphoric Light

In the light that comes out of the sea and that "can only be seen in dark nights" -according to a fisherman from Bahía Kino- they call it phosphoric or phosphoric. This light can be perceived above all "when there is no moon because the same fish shines", or in "the new moon and the rooms". An old fisherman, in Bahía Kino, argued that this light appears "because the sea has a lot of phosphorus, and on dark nights the animal lights it up." To this form, which is the most extensive, phosphorescent recorded in Puerto Peñasco is added, and corresponds to the Cadiz ardentia and the Granada arda.

5.1.3. High Tide

The maximum sea level is high tide -Puerto Peñasco, Puerto Libertad, Desemboque de los Seris, Estero de Tastiota, Las Guásimas and Yavaros- as a general denomination;

2 Two turned out to be from Sinaloa and one from Baja California Sur.

However, it is also called spring tide -Punta Chueca, Bahía Kino and Punta Baja, Bahía de Lobos-, full tide -Guaymas- and high tide -as a second answer in Guaymas- with the clarification that when the sea is in that condition no fishing. Apparently, there is an area that goes from Punta Chueca to Bahía de Lobos -except for Guaymas and Las Guásimas- in which spring tide is the norm. In the rest of the Sonoran territory, high tide prevails.

5.1.4. Low Tide

At minimum sea level they call it low tide (g), although I also documented dead -Punta Chueca, Bahía Kino, Punta Baja and Bahía de Lobos- and dry -Yavaros-, and it is considered the best time to fish. Informant A from Las Guásimas commented that "when the tide does not rise or fall, it is a neap tide and it is not useful for fishing," while in Puerto Libertad the neap tide "occurs during the quarters of the moon." The same area in which spring tide was documented has a neap tide as a norm, and this denomination can be understood in which the terms live vs dead are opposed for the maximum and minimum water levels. The same characterizes the other area where high vs. low are contrasted, except in Yavaros where the response was dry, whose sema 'absence of water' is inherent in the low level of water.

5.2. Meteorology

5.2.1. Wind, Breeze

The wind that blows frequently without gusts is called breeze and wind by fishermen - which are the forms of greatest use -; with less vitality it appears adjective: tropical (Puerto Peñasco), calm (Punta Baja), soft (Las Guásimas) and natural (Yavaros). However, in two places I was able to obtain a denomination with greater marine characteristics: colla in Estero de Tastiota, and wind collar in Puerto Libertad, which are variants of collada 'continuity or permanence of the wind in the same direction' [11].

5.2.2. Gusty Wind

The strong unsustained wind is gusting, drifting, raging - always with fricative ch- gale, wind collas and little bull. The form with the determinative with streaks is the most common, although they are also arrachado and enrachado. The name colla seems to have a greater use from Estero de Tastiota to Yavaros where I was able to document it in several fishermen; torito has a greater vitality than the previous one from Punta Chueca to Yavaros. Los toritos are very strong winds that come down from the mountains "very brave like bulls" - commented a fisherman from Bahía de Lobos; Another version of the same phenomenon was provided by an informant from Bahía Kino arguing that if the wind blows strongly when one is at sea, it is called a torito; if on earth, shower.

5.2.3. Snake

The fishermen metaphorically call the kind of water tube that rises from the sea to the cloud, a snake, another name

they give it is tromba - as in Puerto Rico. Other documented shapes are: whirlpool, tornado, whirlpool. For the fisherman, the most used name is snake, although some mark differences because it takes the water and the waterspout unloads it. These phenomena - which in the southeast of Mexico, Puerto Rico and the Atlantic coast of Colombia are called hoses - produce a lot of water and announce bad weather.

5.2.4. Drizzle

Small rain is undoubtedly a very natural phenomenon that we all know and that we festively allude to when someone gets wet by it. Thus, in the formation of the popular chipichipi, the onomatopoeia born from the intention of the speaker to qualify the persistent action of the drizzle with the chi sound converges. Proof of this is that I have documented, in addition to the already well-known chipichipi, forms such as chipitear -with fricative ch- in Bahía de Lobos and Puerto Libertad and spark in Punta Chueca which is possibly -the latter- a derivative of spark -onomatopoeic voice- as well that sparkling 'raining very little, falling only a few small drops' recorded in Punta Baja and Puerto Libertad. However, the most widespread denomination is drizzle along with the variant rainy, to which it also adds with kitty vitality. Regarding the origin of this voice, Sobarzo says that it comes from the voice cahíta quepata, from fit 'rain' and the particle that forms the oblique case and is the 'winter rain or snow-water' and 'small and persistent drizzle, character that they have winter rains in Sonora '; For his part, Santamaría [24] mentions that it is a Tarahumara voice but does not provide the etymology.

5.2.5. Fog Bank

The closed or parked mist forms are the most common, I was also able to record misty -Puerto Peñasco-, brisal -Puerto Libertad- and stored time -Puerto Libertad. This last denomination has its origin in packing a 'ship's hold' in which the cargo is concentrated inside the vessel; The Dictionary of Authorities [5] says that packing is 'to compose the cargo of the vessel so that it occupies less space and the weight is the same', that is, it is a voice that in its nautical sense refers to the distribution of the cargo in the ship, although it is also 'amassing' in Chile, Ecuador, Peru, Guatemala, Colombia. The two meanings suggest a group of things, merchandise, and why not? Fog. When the hold is full, it is said that the ship is packed, and by analogy, as the fog is piled up in a certain place, it is said that it is packed, which agrees with the meaning of the [8] 'to load the horizon with clouds'. the Dictionary of Authorities [5] considers a corruption of the verb arrimar, although Corominas [4] points to its French origin arrimar and this from the Germanic rvm 'space'.

During the survey in Puerto Peñasco, I was able to collect the following saying that alludes to the weather in which the fog is so great that the fishing activity is suspended: "Mist in the valley, sailor in the street."

5.2.6. Sunset

The forms collected were sunset (g), and zero hour - Yavaros- on one occasion; The latter form that has a lot to do

with the divisions of the day that fishermen do for work reasons. And it is that for many men of the artisan fleets of the Sonoran coast, the work day begins at dusk and ends in the early hours of the morning or last of the night, hence when it begins to dusk it is called the time zero at this time of day.

5.3. Geomorphology

5.3.1. Cantil

The vertically cut coastline is a cliff as a general denomination, a rocky area referring to the coast or rocky in relation to the type of terrain. A cliff is a 'step formed by the seabed or edge cut to the bottom or almost to the bottom' [11], that is to say, an underwater formation and with that sense I have always found it in the works consulted; however, among Sonoran fishermen it is a type of coast and not a rock formation in the sea. In fact, as an American usage, the [8] defines it as "edge of a cliff" without clarifying whether it is a formation on land or in the sea. With less use I was able to record cliffs (Las Guásimas), wall (Bahía de Lobos), cliffs (Puerto Peñasco), cliffs (Punta Chueca) and breakwater (Yavaros), the latter pleonastic form since a breakwater is a 'set of rocks scattered like a breakwater or rock' [11] and that bears no resemblance to the Sonoran ridge, which leads me to think that the informant confused the question with another about a type of stony coast that is difficult to access.

5.3.2. Bay, Cove

The body of water collected between two points is bay and cove. The language has several voices to designate concepts that are semantically very close: gulf, bay, cove, bosom, estuary, bay, cove; It can be said that they express the same concept but in a quantitatively different way, since from the gulf to the cove there is a differentiation based on size, and since this is relative and there is no possibility of making a comparison, the shapes are often confused and create terminological problems that lead to false synonymy. Therefore, when asking the question and obtaining two answers, he then questioned the difference between the two; In general, the bay is considered by fishermen of greater extension than the cove. The other denomination collected was estuary with ostensibly less use.

5.3.3. Reef

The rock bottom near the sea surface has eight names among fishermen, reef being the most widespread; to it – although less used- are added tepetate from the Nahuatl *tetl* 'stone' and *petatl* 'petate' and which is 'a certain kind of yellowish stone, with a porous conglomerate, and which when cut into stone blocks is used for construction' [24] whose use in the seafaring language is a synecdoche since the object is named after the material with which it is made. Another of the registered forms is flooded, which is characterized by being "the bottom of any object covered with water" [11], also called quebrado on the Caribbean coast of Mexico. Berth, death and drowned stones are denominations with less vitality, in whose metaphorical

formation the semantic feature "immobility" of dead, dock and drowned is notorious. Other documented forms are scree and crag.

5.3.4 Stony Coast

The rocky coastline that is difficult to access from the sea has various names. And rocky area turned out to be the most used form –Guaymas-; They are followed by the cliff -Bahía Kino-, wall -Bahía de Lobos-, tepetate -Bahía Kino as a second answer-, collar -Puerto Libertad- and breakwater -Yavaros. The name collar can be an apheresis of *es* (in breakwater 'defense dam against the waves') or a metaphorical formation since a collar is a 'leather collar, stuffed with straw or erased' that bears similarity to the shape the coast itself.

5.3.5 Swampy Terrain

Sonoran fishermen refer to this type of terrain with muddy (g), others, the least, call it fangal and swamp; To a lesser extent, I documented marsh and estuary, and the adjective form muddy by informant A from Punta Chueca. The estuary is 'a low and swampy terrain' registered in 1490 according to Corominas, although the meaning of 'lagoon that forms a river when it empties' is from 1626. In Chronicles of the Conquest of Nueva Galicia in the territory of New Spain it is already documented the term in 1532 in the work of [23]. The [8] lists it as 'low and swampy land' while the Spanish Maritime Dictionary [9] says it is a 'pipe or arm that comes out of a river'. Arancibia [14] points out that in America it has lost its original meaning of 'close to the sea', although the condition of swampy and swampy still has it.

This particular condition makes Sonoran fishermen adjective to this type of terrain and not call it an estuary, since the reference that they have most at hand is the site called Estero de Tastiota which, despite having swampy parts, has a beautiful entrance of sea that is much more attractive to the eyes than the swampy and muddy areas. In other words, it is obvious that what fishermen take as an estuary is the arm of the sea, but not the muddy parts adjacent to the body of water. (INSERT Figure 2).

5.4. The Stars

The Three Marys

The denominations used mainly are Las Tres Marías (+), Los Tres Reyes (-). The oldest informant from Las Guásimas mentioned the eyes of Santa Lucía, which correspond to the stars called Castor and Pollux of the constellation of Gemini; while the young people from Puerto Libertad and Bahía de Lobos said El Arado or that they are part of it referring to the Big Dipper and not to Las Tres Marías, which are actually the stars that make up the Orion belt. The foregoing shows that young fishermen pay less attention to certain phenomena in the outside world than older ones, with which the lexicon shows a marked impoverishment that can become greater day by day. Only in Punta Chueca did I find a denomination until then unknown to me: The Three Animals, which are the bighorn sheep, the buro deer –very developed deer [28] - and

the white-tailed deer; immediate referents of the culture of the indigenous Seris that is reflected - in the same way as Castor and Pollux or The Big Dipper - in the firmament common to all cultures.

Concepto 'terreno pantanoso'



Figure 2. Swampy terrain concept.

5.5. Navigation and Maneuvers

5.5.1. Ciar

Not all concepts have multiple names. Sea, cloud, pier, noon and many others are unique forms among fishermen. There are also them in disuse and almost forgotten by the old people who in their youth rowed and sailed in sailing and wooden boats. This is the case of *ciar*, a word only collected from a 76-year-old fisherman in Guaymas in the form *ciyar*, *con* and *epentética*. *Ciar* has, according to Garasa [16] a distinctly marine meaning; Quoting García de Palacio [17], Garasa [7] notes that it is "when you row backwards, recoiling; It is also said when they want to stop, and that a ship does not pass, plunging the oars into the water, rowing to the contrary and thus they stop and repair it. Like several of the marinerisms, this one has also come to designate terrestrial realities, thus in Galicia the forms *cear*, *ciar*, *supper*, *cejar* mean 'turn back the cattle', and with the same meaning Corominas [3] documents it in the Mendoza region and other Andean provinces. The DA contains two meanings: 'retreat or walk backwards, without turning your back' and 'row backwards'. Corominas [4] says that it is a nautical voice of the same uncertain origin as the Portuguese and Catalan *ciar* and that it may be a derivative of *cía* 'hip', due to the effort that this part of the body develops when *ciar*.

5.5.2. Sail

Sailing Unfortunately, the lexicon related to sailing in Sonora belongs to the past. Proof of this is that in all the localities I visited, I did not see any boat whose means of propulsion is based on sail. However, I included some questions in the questionnaire in order to rescue this lexicon and avoid a clearly obvious shipwreck. The few denominations were in favor and luff, alluding to what it is called when the boat sails and the wind comes from the stern, that is, when sailing downwind; when the breeze hits the bow they say sail against, head on and luff. Luffing is 'guiding the ship by taking its bow from leeward to windward, or decreasing the angle of the bow with the wind' [11]. Guillén [8] mentions that "it is the position of the ship girdling the wind, that is, sailing against it," which is the same definition as the [8]. The paucity of answers confirms what has been said, and the obvious confusion of the informant who used luffing clearly shows that this lexicon is on the verge of extinction.

5.5.3. Port

The site built on the coast to shelter from the storm and carry out loading and unloading operations is called in Puerto Libertad and in Punta Chueca, a field and a fishing camp that are temporary human settlements - such as El Sahuímaro in Punta Baja and El Choyudo-; however, the general answer was port. Puerto is a 'pass between mountains', and Corominas documents it from the origin of the language. In Mexico, perhaps the first documentation appears on page 67 of the Chronicles of the Conquest of New Galicia in the territory of New Spain in 1530: "we went down a very sour port, and down on top of it, we hit a town." Puerto comes from the Latin *portus* 'opening, passage' according to Corominas, and points out that the meaning 'port' is common to all Western romances and almost the only meaning documented in Latin. According to the above, port would not have a land use of the maritime voice, but one of the senses that the voice had in vulgar Latin. Thus we have in the Chilean province of Valparaíso Alto del Puerto, the use of the diminutive port in Argentina, the Puerto El Pico in the Sierra de Gredos near Madrid, which fully conserves the etymological meaning 'passage between mountains'. What is called a port to the place where ships arrive is by extension, since a pass between mountains and a port have more security, the pass is safer than the mountains, and the port more than the sea. Hence, the phrase "come to fruition" 'come to a good end' contains a semantic load of visible security and achievement.

5.5.4. Guinear

The action of turning the boat on its moorings when it is anchored is generally called *guinear* -Estero de Tastiota, Guaymas, Las Guásimas and Yavaros-, others with less use are *bornear* -in Puerto Peñasco and Bahía Kino as a first response, and in Guaymas as a second-, *turn* -Puerto Libertad- and *maneuver*, the latter as a second response in informant B from Puerto Libertad (INSERT Figure 3).

Concepto 'girar la embarcación'



Figure 3. Concept turn the boat.

Guinear is, apparently, a variant of winking 'directing the bow of the ship to one side or the other with the rudder, either alternately or consecutively, and with a specific purpose' [19]. Don Carlos de Sigüenza y Góngora [25] already attests to this when in 1690 he wrote when discovering Hispaniola: "... but, having dawned about six leagues downwind from it to the southern part, time never gave me place to catch it, (to the island) although I winked to the Northwest".

This form, now totally lexicalized in Sonora's seafaring speech, is the only example that I have been able to collect of de-platalization of *ñ* outside the Yucatan Peninsula.

5.6. *Jarcias*

A situation similar to that of sails occurs with rigging, since the pangas in which coastal fishermen work in Sonora lack them, not totally but it is notorious and justified –in addition- this absence as these boats do not have trees or sails.

There is great confusion among the fishermen to name each of the ropes of the boat, since several of them hesitated to express the name that answered the question; in a general way and in the face of such ignorance they decided to use the generic *cabo*, clarifying that they are named by number.

The rigging of a ship is divided into two classes: the firm rigging and the working rigging, the first contains the lines and wires that are always fixed and that are well taut serve to support the poles, these are: *mustaches*, *winds*, *bridles*, *shrouds*, *estayes*, *rough*, *nerves*, etc.; the second –which is movable- groups the ropes that are used in rigging, guiding and loading the sails, and are: *halyards*, *buoys*, *luffing blocks*, *racamentos*, *loaders*, etc. Furthermore, rigging is measured by its circumference or *ore*, while its length is measured in

meters.

The forms that I was able to document of the fishermen are listed below by making a brief description of them when I have found the respective explanation: *ribs* 'rigging that serves to keep the mainmast vertical or somewhat inclined as desired', are called *shrouds* [11], *forestay*, rigging that fulfills the same function as the ribs, *arrows*' piece of swing or other thin line made firm from shroud to shroud in a horizontal line throughout the board of rigging and to stretches ordered to form a ladder by which you can climb to the top of the poles' [11], *leash* 'any type of rope used to tie up', *fol* 'rope that is reinforced with wire strands', *tie rods* are the same nerves, *steel cable*, *reinforced cable* and *garrisons* that is not properly –the latter- a rope, but each one of the turns of a rope or cable wound around an object [11], although a fisherman said in Yavaros that it is "a rope that goes from the pole to the pen on the boats *camaroneros*".

As can be seen, the denominations –provided only by ten informants- correspond only to the first class of rigging -standing rigging; The absence of names such as *enchina*, *halyard*, *log*, *luff* of the working rigging group is due to the absence of sailing vessels.

5.7. *Types of Vessels and Ship Building*

5.7.1. *Broom*

The hole through which the anchor chain passes is the *hawk* -shape provided only by four fishermen- although it is not exclusive to the anchoring system as it is 'any of the holes on either side of the stem of a vessel through which the strings. With less use, I registered a ring in Estero de Tastiota and a ring in Yavaros. A riverbank carpenter who occasionally participated in the survey in Guaymas said *batayola*. This is a 'kind of double wooden railing that, fitted into the iron candlesticks, ran over the side in which the *coyes* (hammocks) of the sailors and troops were accommodated in the warships' [11]. This man alluded to the fact that they call it a *batayola* because they struggle a lot to make it, and in this way he and his colleagues formed the derivative. In fact, *batayola* comes from the Catalan *batalola*, diminutive of *battle*, because there the soldiers were stationed to fight; thus the Castilian *batahola* 'bull', *alboroto* has the same origin [4] and its meaning 'is explained by the heat of the combat that was taking place together with the *batayola*'. The truth is that the *batayola* has a hole and this makes it similar to the broom, and that is why they call this the ring through which the chains and ropes pass.

5.7.2. *Cabin*

There were four names that I collected and that designate the place where the sailors sleep: *cabin* –the most widespread-, *ranch* –registered in four places- *bedroom* –documented in two- and *storeroom* –mentioned by a single fisherman. It matters little in which place the fishermen sleep - many of them do it on deck in their hammocks, others rest in the hold or where they can - however the name they give to those places is important. *Rancho* - collected from the oldest informant I was (98

years old) and from others with less years but who were over 50 - is the 'place where soldiers and all kinds of traveling people used to stay during the 16th and 17th centuries [14] and from there it went to America to designate 'hut of the Indians', 'poor and rural housing even of the criollos' [12] who documents these terrestrial meanings since 1535 in Fernández de Oviedo³. In the old vessels, says the Maritime Vocabulary of Seville [15], Rancho de Santa Bárbara was "the chamber or division that was under the main chamber of the ship, where the tiller is" [cited by 7]. Both [11] and the [14] state that it is a "specific passage of the vessel to accommodate the individuals of the crew." Another ancient meaning of the word ranch is 'provision of food that is shared by many in common' [14, 7], meaning that the [8] registers together with two others and which it derives from the High German hring, while Corominas [4] offers a French ranger origin from which verbs such as arrancharse and ranchear would come, although Meyer [12] disagrees and is more affiliated with a Castilian origin. It is also a 'division of the navy for tasks' [14], 'ranch of the sergeants, the gunsmith, the bosun' [11]. In its terrestrial meaning of 'peasant hut', in Mexico it is documented in the Chronicles of the Conquest of New Galicia in the territory of New Spain in 1530; However, and despite its limited current size, it still retains its original marine significance, at least among old fishermen.

5.7.3. Cellar

The space inside the ship destined to put fishing gear, boxes, etc., is called a cellar and storeroom; the latter is a nautical and military term, and both the [8] -which ensures that it is of debatable etymology- and the EGM say that it is 'any of the small compartments where food, rigging, respect for machines, ammunition, etc. are kept. etc. ', although Eugenio de Salazar y Alarcón has not used it in that sense in the letter⁴ in which he describes what happened to him on his trip from the Canary Islands to Hispaniola in 1573 when he was in contact for a long time with the linguistic habits of the sailors: "When I ask for a canned box, I say take out the feedlot. If I ask for a napkin: take out the cloth. If I get to the stove, I say: the ollaos boil well... "

If this compartment is in the stern it is called a storeroom, and if it is in the prow, a ranch according to the testimony of a fisherman from Yavaros. The other documented form is a warehouse collected from a Seri indigenous person in Punta Chueca.

5.7.4. Stand

The part of the ship where the navigation instruments are located is the cabin - the one with the greatest vitality -, the track - collected in two places -, the bridge and the cabin. The defeat

is 'the path that a ship makes or must take [8] because the course is 'the line drawn on the sea chart to govern the pilots in the ships' and' the book that contains the situation geographical location of the ports of a coast or adjacent or intermediate coasts and seas with all the news necessary to facilitate and secure the vessel [14]. Since the navigation instruments are found in this part of the ship, the course is necessarily traced on this site and for this reason it is called a route; It is then a synecdoche, since the part -beat "line of the road" is named for the whole -cabin or booth. The reason that only in Puerto Peñasco and Guaymas has this form been documented, is because only in those ports - in addition to Yavaros - do the vessels have this type of construction on the deck.

5.7.5. Made Without Keel

Panga plus the determinatives without keel and flat bottom, and barge are the two most widespread forms on the coast. The panga can be flat-bowed, its measurements are 6 meters long and 1.4 meters wide [19], while the barge is a shallow-draft vessel also called panga and falca in Tabasco, says [24]., and it can take a rudder and sail, but the common thing is that it is rowing, adds [36]. These two forms are joined by a tugboat -Estero de Tastiota- whose appearance is due more to the fisherman's itch to give an answer and not to truthfully express the type of boat since a tugboat cannot be moved by rowing-, speed boat -Las Guásimas -, dredge -Puerto Peñasco- and pangón -Estero de Tastiota (INSERT Figure 4).



Figure 4. Keelless boat concept.

5.7.6. Codaste

Guaymas and Puerto Peñasco were the only ports where I was able to register codaste, which is the wood that comes out of the keel and forms the stern of the boat. In Bahía Kino

³ General and Natural History of the Indies.

⁴ Letter addressed to the lawyer Miranda de Ron, 1573, Letters, ed., By Pascual de Gayangos, Society of Spanish Bibliophiles, Madrid, 1886. Eugenio de Ochoa, *Spanish Epistolary. Collection of letters from ancient and modern Spaniard* [22], Biblioteca de Autores Españoles, Rivadaneira, vol. 62, Madrid, Librería y Casa Editorial Hernando, 1926, t. II, p. 283-310.

I collected the bottom keel; I did not get an answer on the other sites. In the construction of ships, there are several parts that, although similar, are different due to their position and their functions; the carpenter from Puerto Peñasco explained that the keel is attached to the sternum, the overcoat on top and at the end the wedge, on the stern that has a vertical position the gambota is attached 'each of the curved timbers that form the skeleton of the stern of a wooden ship' [19] diagonally and from there the stern of the ship is born. [19] also says that the stern is a 'piece of molded steel or wood in which the ship ends at the stern, it is the continuation of the keel and the plates or planks of the outer skin end on both sides'.

5.7.7. *Falca*

The slightly curved wood strongly attached to the deck or rail to which the ropes are attached has three forms documented with greater use among fishermen: falca –Puerto Libertad, Bahía de Lobos- cleat –Estero de Tastiota- and regala –Guaymas. Falca is the 'table running from bow to stern that is placed vertically on the side of the smaller boats so that the water does not enter' Martínez Juan: [27]; regala is the 'upper part of the gunwale' [19], and cleat is a 'piece of wood..., with a figure similar to the head and supporting arms of a crutch and which, when affirmed in suitable places, serves to go back to the capes' [19]. Of the three, the one that most closely resembles what I have observed - timber to which the rigging is tied - is falca.

5.7.8. *Ring*

The ring through which the ropes of a boat pass is ring – Puerto Libertad, Estero de Tastiota-, ring –Punta Chueca-, ring –Yavaros-, batayola and galiote in Guaymas, and escobén –Puerto Peñasco and Guaymas-, this being last 'any of the holes on either side of the stem of a ship through which cables or chains pass' according to the Spanish Maritime Dictionary. The name galiote may owe its formation to an analogy with galley <de gallera, which is the condemned individual 'who rowed forced on the galleys' of ships [19], and whose oar left through a hole; thus, by extension, this denomination was applied not only to the person who was rowing but also to the hole through which the oar came out.

5.8. *Fishing Gear*

5.8.1. *Chinchorro*

The chinchorro is a fishing art widespread throughout the Sonoran coastline, it is "a trawl-like net, similar to the seine, although smaller" [14], [6] and also designated the fisherman who used it as well as the boat. The chinchorro shape has become - just like buoy - a generic name among the fishermen of Sonora, because for some reason the specific names of the nets - sardinal, cazonal, bowling, etc. - have fallen into oblivion with the consequent disuse and ignorance of these voices by the new generations, and this only way is used to name them. However, the only forms that have not been affected are tarraya and trasmallo.

Regarding its etymology, Corominas [4] affirms that it comes from the Latin cimex, cimexis 'chinche'; [18] derives the voice from the Portuguese chincha 'fishing net' as it appears documented in the etymological Dictionary of the Portuguese language by JP Machado [10] in 1421. [13] for his part, also derives it from the Portuguese chincha 'mold for cheese', which evidently shares the semantic element 'squeeze' with the web; that is, to get the cheese curd.

Regarding the original meaning of the word, Pontillo comments that it must have been a 'fishing net', from which he possibly went on to designate 'barquichuelo' through the expressions "chinchorro boat"; finally in America it acquired the meaning of 'hammock woven in the shape of a net', a meaning that in Sonora it is not granted.

5.8.2. *Flap, Harpoon*

The stick or bar that has two teeth at the tip is called a flap. I was able to register this form in Punta Baja, Guaymas as a second answer, and in Las Guásimas, and together with harpoon -documented in Bahía Kino, Bahía de Lobos and Yavaros as a first answer- they are the most common forms, perhaps the first a little more from Punta Baja to the south of the state; other registered forms are: trinche, -Puerto Libertad, puyero in Guaymas and Bahía Kino. From Punta Chueca to the north I did not register a response, except in Puerto Libertad.

5.8.3. *Rendal*

The finest thread that comes out of the thick rope of the art called longline is rendal. Its use is frequent and I collected it in Puerto Libertad, Punta Baja, Estero de Tastiota, Guaymas, Las Guásimas, Bahía de Lobos and Yavaros, and only the tight form was able to register in Punta Chueca. The rendal - also called reynal in Sinaloa - joins the mother line by means of the gaza which is a knot - the fishermen explained. The Spanish Maritime Dictionary explains that the gauze is a 'kind of eye, circle or oval that is formed into a rope, folding it and joining it with a seam or linked by a point that leaves said eye free and that it becomes like the knot of the loop', a voice that is little known outside the seafaring language; although in Mexico – [7] points out - it is "the slide that is formed with the rope to throw it on what has to be tied", but its origin is marine.

5.8.4. *Parts of the Traps*

The parts of the traps used by fishermen to catch crabs are: mouth, which is the part where the animal enters; incarnator, carnadero, incarnation and buchaca -with fricative ch- of the bait, which is the place where the bait is placed; lid is the lid of the pocket; Belly is the central and wide place where the animal is trapped, and a funnel that extends from the mouths - which are four - to the belly. In order that the current does not overturn the traps, the fishermen tie iron rods to them on all four sides, thus keeping them firm on the sea floor.

5.9. *Trade*

The container that contains the fish or any other marine product for its transport to the collection centers,

cooperatives or private houses of the fishermen is called tara. This form obviously has to do with trade, since it is the weight of the merchandise container, which is discounted from the total weight in commercial deals. Hence, these containers are the same or very similar from Puerto Peñasco to Yavaros. Tara, then, has been a synecdoche, since the part - weight - is named for the whole - box.

5.10. Armature and Sails

5.10.1. Mast

The mainmast of a boat receives several names. The most widespread form is the mast, documented in eight sites as the first response -Puerto Peñasco, Puerto Libertad, Desemboque de los Seris, Bahía Kino, Punta Baja, Estero de Tastiota, Guaymas and Yavaros-, followed by the pole -Las Guásimas-, barrote del center -Punta Chueca-, the generic stick -Bahía de Lobos-, verga -Puerto Libertad and Bahía Kino- and the latter two would fit as a second answer (INSERT Figure 5). The [8] mentions that *cabria* comes from the Latin *caprea* 'goat' and that it is a machine for lifting weights, whose frame consists of two beams assembled at an acute angle, held by another that forms a tripod with them, or by one or more moorings.

Concepto 'palo mayor'



Figure 5. Main stik concept.

Corominas records in Diego García de Palacio [17] the first documentation of it would fit in 1587, and points out that it is 'the one that sailors put together to masse the ships, and carry heavy things up..., remembering the position of the upright goat and with the hind legs scattered.

5.10.2. Beliefs

The beliefs of the men of the sea are various, and these are manifested in the varied answers they gave about their work; sometimes superstitious or full of faith, they commented that "one crosses oneself when leaving" -Estero de Tastiota informant B-, "some put an amulet on the chinchorro" -Bahía de Lobos informant B-, "we entrust ourselves to the Virgen del Carmen or the Virgin of Guadalupe" -The Guásimas informants A and B-, "if you don't know how to fish, the fish will stick" -Guaymas informant B-, "in the name of God" -Guaymas informant B-, "you don't have to go up whale bones because it brings bad luck" -Puerto Peñasco informant A-, "not doing favors in the sea is bad luck" -Puerto Peñasco informant A. Others were more direct and skeptical: "to have good luck one should say hopefully do not take anything the other" -Puerto Libertad informant A-, "that luck does not exist, everything depends on the ability of the fisherman" -Punta Chueca informant B-, "you have to bathe, bastards, says one to remove bad luck" -Puerto Peñasco informant A.

6. Conclusions

The following linguistic observations are based solely on the exposed material that was collected from the fishermen in the eleven locations visited on the Sonoran coast. They are the product of the analysis that I applied to the corpus and a summary of some of the most frequent phenomena that appear in the body of the text.

6.1. Phonetics

Depalatalization of ñ: guinear by guiñar.⁵

6.2. Morphosyntax

Suffix formations:

1. adero 'place': incarnation.
2. to 'relationship or belonging': riscal, fangal, brisal.
3. was 'place': breakwater.
4. ero 'instrument': puyero.
5. on 'augmentative': wall.

6.3. Lexis and Semantics

6.3.1. Formation of New Terms by Derivation or Composition

Embodiment 'site of the trap in which the bait or bait is placed'. Formation with the prefix *en-* + bait + the suffix *-adura*. New meaning that, apparently, does not derive from embodying 'raising flesh a wound' but from 'bait' bait that is derived from meat.

6.3.2. Appeal to the Generic Term

For some reason, the specific term has been forgotten, and has been displaced by a broader, generic one.

Bait: 'bait to fish'. Replaces raba, groundbait, etc.

⁵ This phenomena only exist, in Mexico, in Yucatán Peninsula.

6.3.3. Dislocation of Meaning due to Spatial Proximity or Material or Functional Similarity

Tepetate 'stone bottom'. Not the object is named, but the material that structures this background.

Tare 'weight of the merchandise container'. The part - weight - is named for the whole - box.

6.3.4. New Denominations by Metaphors

In metaphors, ideas correspond to two different objects that are closely related by similarity and that are present at the same time in the mind of the speaker.

It would fit 'mast'. The shape of this steel construction - which recalls the 'position of an upright goat with its legs spread out' is found in Corominas, and is the origin of this name.

Collar 'stony coast'. The similarity between the shape of the shoreline and a necklace is evident.

Trench 'harpoon', 'snooping'. Probably related to a 'table fork' cutter.

6.4. Voices of Probable Amerindian Origin

Winch 'spindle'. From the Nahuatl malacatl according to Siméon [26].

Tepetate "a certain kind of yellowish stone." From the Nahuatl tetl 'stone' and petatl 'petate' ensures [26].

Borrowing from other languages and phonetic adaptations.

Barge 'panga without keel'. From the French chaland. Speed boat 'panga'. From English speed boat. 'Panga' boat. From the English boat. Without specifying. Flap 'kind of snooping with two ends or with only one'. Local forms. This linguistic corpus - never before documented or studied in Sonora - offers a marked polymorphism - phonetic, morphosyntactic and lexicosemantic - that can be seen lines above and in the same descriptive body of the speech that refers to each voice. Of all this network of fishing terms,

several of them throughout the coastline are unique to designate a concept: be it the case of port, for example, and thus structure a considerable section that is common - except for relative exceptions - to the entire Hispanic world. There are others, however, that although they have variants throughout the Sonoran territory, they can be considered in general use due to their high frequency and still others that are part of the norm of the fishermen-speaking community. Separate mention deserve certain forms that, without being general in the Spanish language, possess -among Sonoran fishermen- a notorious vitality, because -despite some of them having certain phonetic and morphological variants- allude to a single concept. The forms -only of this lexical plot- to which I have referred are the following. They are few if compared with the documented corpus, however the qualitative is the most important of them. Guinear 'move the bow of the ship to one side and the other'. Flap 'snooping'. In Sonora, many fishermen continue to practice the traditional arts, their tackle and pangas are everyday, as is the language that has been enriched with many of their local creations: encarnadero, la hora cero, riscal; with metaphors -a bit stereotyped, if you will-: collar, which are obvious signs of linguistic dynamism. Several of these corpus voices are not found in dictionaries. Hopefully one day the academics will pick them up to learn more about their language, and prevent many of them from an unwanted shipwreck in an ever-increasing industrial and globalizing society.

This small lexical parcel of Sonoran fishermen is heir, for historical reasons, of the peninsular marine words; However, it has autochthonous elements that make it unique within the vast Hispanic world. For this reason, the following comparative table shows the names obtained in this area of Mexico compared to others documented on the coasts of both America and Spain.

Table 1. Comparison chart of concepts in Spanish.

Concept	Sonora	Quintana Roo (Mexico)	Colombia	Puerto Rico	Granada
'ondulación del mar'	Marejada ola	ola, marejada 'mar brava'	Mareta ola	ola maruyo	ola oleaje
'luz que sale del mar'	fosfórica, fosforescente	resplandor			arda
'viento continuo'	Brisa viento, colla, collera	brisa, viento moderado	Brisa, brisa amanecida		viento seguío, brisa
'viento con rachas'	viento con rachas, arrachado, enrachado, torito	viento huracanado	viento con rachas	parcho de viento, viento rachoso	viento rachao, racheado, racha viento
'tromba marina'	culebra, tromba, remolino	manguera	Manguera manga	trombra, tromba marina	
'lluvia menuda'	llovizna, lluvizna, equipata, chipitear	llovizna	llovizna		llovizna harinilla agüilla
'tres estrellas una detrás de otra'	Las Tres Marías, Los Tres Reyes, Los Tres Animales	Las Tres Marías	Las Tres Marías		Las Tres Marías, Marías
'costa cortada verticalmente'	cantil, acantilado, paredón, risco, peñasco	acantilado	morro, peña, barranco, abismo, farallones		fajo, acantilado barranco
'cuerpo de agua recogido entre dos puntas'	bahía, ensenada, estero	bahía, ensenada	bahía, ensenada	bahía	badía, rada, seno
'fondo de piedras cerca de la superficie del mar'	arrecife, tepetate, atracadero, muerto, piedras, ahogadas	arrecife, muerto 'boya'	bajo	banco	piedras, bajo, recife, roqueo, escollo
'remar hacia atrás'	ciyar		retrocedé, se le da p'atrás		

Concept	Sonora	Quintana Roo (Mexico)	Colombia	Puerto Rico	Granada
‘navegar contra el viento’	orzar, en contra	bolinear, ir en bolinas	ir a bolina		
‘cabo de la embarcación’	nervios, estay, flechaste, tralla, tirante, cabo (como genérico), cable de acero, fol	escota driza obenque, jarcia, culebra, sogá (como genérico)	Escota, piola, velaje		aparejo, troza, arrees, jarcia, cabo, veta, cuerda, tanza, estacha, maroma, malleta, tomiza, cordelillo
‘agujero por donde pasa la cadena del ancla’	escobén, argolla, anilla, batayola	escobén	escobén		escobé, escobén
‘dormitorio de los pescadores’	Camarote, rancho, dormitorio, pañol	espejo de popa			rancho
‘lugar donde se guardan los artes, víveres, etc.’	bodega, pañol	bodega	bodega		bodega
‘lugar donde van los instrumentos de navegación’	caseta, derrota	derrota	pasillo		puente
‘red redonda para pescar’	chinchorro (como genérico), chinchorro de línea, de arrastre, de cerco, de media luna. tarraya, trasmallo	tarraya, red de arrastre, almadraba chinchorro trasmallo	atarraya, boliche, trasmallo, chinchorro		volanta, pantasana tarraya, almadraba sardinal, cazonal, trasmallo, jábega, boliche
‘recipiente donde se pone el pescado’	Tara	caja, cubeta	caja, azafate, catabre		caja, cenacho, canasta

It is not necessary to strain the gaze to realize that there are evident similarities between the forms collected on the Sonoran coast and those recorded in other places, since their number exceeds ten, except in relation to Puerto Rico whose meager quantity is due to the incompleteness of the applied questionnaire - only 83 questions.

Also the patrimonial denominations are numerous. Forms such as phosphoric, colla or collar, torito, chipitear, Los Tres Animales, tepetate, pañol and tara seem to be, and only specialized studies that can measure the real extension of each of these words will be able to assure or deny this situation. Culebra, Paredón, and Muerto are names that, being metaphorical, can be formed by any human group in other latitudes; equipata, purse-sein have a regional use. There is only *ciar* in the *ciyar* variant as the only way that in its purely marine sense survives in this area of Mexico where sails, wooden boats and oars seem to be elements of the past that are not yet completely shipwrecked in the minds of the fishermen to whom I owe my sincere gratitude and esteem.

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